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ABSTRACT

A study examined the analytic writing development of high school seniors and college students. Subjects, approximately 50 high school seniors and 100 college students, performed two writing tasks on the same topic, one for an audience in agreement and one for a hostile audience. About a third of the subjects made taped protocols of their writing processes. Analysis of the data stressed four areas: audience, kind of argument, multiple perspectives, and text discourse patterns. The seven composite writers at different stages of cognitive development that emerged from this analysis lie on a continuum of maturity that includes seven kinds of transitions: (1) from no awareness to high awareness of self as writer; (2) from little or no awareness to high awareness of reader; (3) from moralistic, to emotional, to logical and pragmatic argument; (4) from edict, to narrative example, to explanation, to problem solving, to argumentation; (5) from absolutist, to tentative, to firm but reasonable sense of the writer's own position; (6) from little or no attention to planning, to an excessive amount, to an efficient amount; and (7) from little or no sense of an issue's complexity, to some, to much, to too much, and back to much. (JL)

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANALYTIC WRITING ABILITIES: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

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The Development of Analytic Writing Abilities: A Preliminary Report

In an MLA talk that was later published in College Composition and Communications, the late Mina Shaughnessy called for research that would identify the stages of writing growth in adult learners.[1] Although we have by now a respectable body of knowledge about the evolution of writing in children,[2] we really know little about how such abilities develop and continue to do so in young adults and adults. Yet we have reason to suspect that writing abilities have not fully matured by the time students finish high school: Kellogg Hunt's studies established that twelfth graders were less "syntactically mature" than the adult professionals with whom Hunt compared them, and Lev Vygotsky, Jerome Bruner, and James Britton have variously suggested that the ability to think and to write in concepts is a late-occurring phenomenon, one that may not take place until the close of adolescence and that, indeed, may not occur at all in many adults, particularly if those adults have done little analytic writing.[3]

Yet until fifteen or even ten years ago, this subject was not of practical concern to college composition instructors, for the students whom we taught were able to write more or less satisfactory papers about the general or "universal" topics assigned in freshmen composition classes. By now, however, we have seen a generation of entering college students with writing immaturities of the sort that college instructors scarcely knew about twenty years ago, and we find these deficiencies not just in remedial-level writers.

That is, the kinds of students I am discussing are most often not plagued with syntactical and mechanical errors; they write, on the whole, correctly. Further, given an assignment that calls for lively narrative or vivid description, they can produce effective and even engaging papers.

Yet on a more analytic assignment--one requiring them to organize their ideas conceptually and hierarchically and to make and support telling points about matters of general concern--they write essays that are trivial, vacuous, and banal.

The ubiquity of this phenomenon in recent years has moved several researchers to investigate the level of writing abilities typical of entering college freshmen. In a study conducted at SUNY-Buffalo, Charles Cooper and a group of associates found that regularly-admitted freshmen were "unable in writing to analyze ideas, facts, or data and to reason from evidence. Instead, they expounded on their ideological assumptions" and resorted to "overly simple 'common-sense' solutions to complex social problems."[4] In examining the writing of freshmen at Ohio State University, Susan Miller concluded that it was "juvenile and extraordinarily innocent of complication."[5] Attempting to link such vacuous writing to developmental stage, she found that Ohio State freshmen were mid-way between cognitive psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg's "moral development" Stages Three and Four (on a scale of six)--stages characterized by conformity to the stereotypical images of one's family and friends about what is right and wrong (Stage Three); or by a law-and-order, unquestioning respect for authority (Stage Four);[6] both of these positions fall short of the mature cognitive functioning required to write analytically, for they preclude the questioning of premises intrinsic to dialectical thinking. In an earlier study, I used William Perry's stages of cognitive and ethical development during the college years to assess levels of writing development in Skidmore College students, finding that freshmen writers were indeed at early stages on that scale although juniors and seniors placed considerably higher on it.[7]

These tentative findings support what we know from the freshman composition classroom: that is, simply enjoining students to write more analytically or merely assigning them analytic writing topics does little to improve their abilities to produce mature discourse. Often, in composition courses following a typical discourse sequence--from narration and description to process analysis, comparison/contrast, and so on up to analytic writing--or from expressive to transactional discourse--we discover that when students must abandon writing linked to, and organized on the basis of, concrete perception and experience in favor of that whose organizational principle is concept, they run into a block, and the persistence of this phenomenon makes one suspect a cognitive barrier that many young writers have difficulty surmounting. Further, this experience makes sense theoretically, for it is precisely the move from writing organized by concrete data to that organized by concept that would mark the transition from lower to higher levels of cognitive functioning--from functioning analogous to Piaget's "concrete operations" to that of formal reasoning.

It is also, of course, possible that such lags in writing development are simply the result of inexperience, of students' lack of practice with writing in general and analytic writing in particular. In the earlier study conducted at Skidmore College, I analyzed the writing of a few older adults, both college educated and uneducated. My findings suggested that the level of writing development corresponded far more closely to level of education than it did to age, although my sample was too small to be more than suggestive. I suspect that writing development is at least in part a matter of cognitive maturity, but that it is as dependent upon environment and experience as it is upon age--that mature analytic reasoning does not

develop automatically but depends, rather, upon a combination of young adults' cognitive readiness for such functioning and their exposure to environments that demand it. In his study at Harvard, Perry concluded that it was experience with the multiple perspectives of a liberal arts education that fostered higher cognitive development in his subjects, for in coming to terms with and making sense of these competing and often contradictory viewpoints, his subjects moved to levels of cognition in which they were able to think dialectically and abstractly.[8]

Jerome Bruner holds that writing itself encourages the development of "analytic competency," the ability to use the symbol system of language to divorce oneself from the sense data of immediate experience and to think abstractly, in turn using ideas to contemplate other ideas.[9] Both James Moffett and James Britton suggest that higher-level discourse operates by concept, using data to support concept and not vice versa, as is the case with lower-level discourse like narration and description.[10] It is such conceptual writing with which high school and many college students have great difficulty, and yet is is precisely this sort that they must do competently if they are to succeed in college.

Thus if we are to help them master analytic writing, we need more information about how writers move, cognitively, from the "concrete" writing of narration, description, process, and so on, to the conceptual writing of analysis and argumentation. At present, we simply know too little about these transitions to be able to help our students do more than flounder through them. If we can identify a sequence in which analytic writing abilities develop and can precisely describe that sequence and each of its substages, we can then devise writing curricula that will help both high school and college students to develop analytic writing abilities.

For, as Germaine Bree has noted, we accomplish little when we ask students to do tasks they are incapable of; they simply fail at them.[11] On the other hand, we must challenge them to move beyond plateaus they have already reached rather than getting stuck on them. Understanding the stages by which mature writing abilities develop would enable us to do just that.

To this end, I am conducting a research project to study analytic writing development. Specifically, last Spring I and my research associates collected data from around 150 subjects in Colorado Springs, Colorado. About 50 of these were high-school seniors; the rest were undergraduates at the University of Colorado, Colorado Springs, whose class levels ranged from freshman to senior. High school students' ages ranged from 16 to 18, college students' from 16 to 55. In addition, we selected subjects equally from three areas of educational background: the liberal arts, business, and engineering and the computer sciences.

Subjects all filled out a questionnaire to determine the kinds and amount of writing that they had done for the past five years and their attitudes about writing. All subjects performed two writing tasks on two different days; they knew neither writing topic in advance of the writing session. They were given as much time as they wanted to write although because of their schedules, the high school students could not write for more than three hours.

All subjects were free to revise as much as they wished although very few chose to do so. About a third of the subjects made taped protocols of their writing process--that is, composed aloud, talking into a tape recorder as they thought and wrote--a technique widely used in writing research, most notably by Janet Emig, Sondra Perl, and by Linda Flower

and John Hayes--and useful in identifying the thinking operations that writers perform as they write.[12] We also interviewed all the writers from whom we took protocols.

All subjects wrote on a topic requiring them to take a position on the new drunk driving laws then under consideration by the Colorado legislature. Writers were to adopt any stance they liked on this issue and to argue for it to an audience that would agree with their viewpoint (possible audiences were specified on the assignment sheet; see Figure 1). The second, or "B," assignment asked writers to do precisely the same task--except that this time they were to write for a hostile audience.

Insert Figure 1 about here

In studying results, I expect to discover whether or not there are significant differences in the kinds of analytic writing that good and poor writers produce, whether these patterns suggest a sequence in which analytic writing abilities develop, whether there are substages in that sequence, and the extent to which level of analytic writing ability correlates with age, educational level, disciplinary background, prior writing experience, or some combination of these things.

After coding all papers and rating them on a criterion-rating scale, my research associates and I are using a battery of text and protocol-analysis techniques to study 25% of the papers closely. Additionally, papers will be independently rated for their position on a Perry-scheme rating scale. Since we will later publish detailed accounts of the research design and results, I will not go into those details here.

Let me, however, mention four particularly important areas that we are studying, for these are central to the discussion that follows. I suspect each of these areas to be an especially significant index of analytic writing ability and general discursive maturity. I may well find other such indices as I work with the data:

1. Audience: We are studying the extent to which writers direct their discourse to their readers and do so in an effective and persuasive way. We are especially interested in the degree to which writers write effectively to the hostile audience, for I would expect immature writers to have difficulty in this area: the ability to empathize with others, especially with those who differ radically from oneself, is an index of mature cognition.[13] I am also looking at the degree to which writers clarify information for their readers rather than assuming that readers can read their minds; again, the "cognitive egocentricity" of young writers makes such clarification difficult for them.[14]

2. The Kind of Argument: We are examining whether writers phrase the issue moralistically, in terms of right and wrong, of punishment and revenge, or whether they conceive of it as an exercise in problem analysis and solution. I would expect younger writers to be more moralistic, since many of them still accept without question the edicts and beliefs of their families or cultures; in Perry's terms, they are at a dualistic level of thinking in which right and wrong are polar opposites, with "right" equated to one's own world view. I would anticipate that more mature writers, accustomed to considering issues more independently and pragmatically, would approach drunk driving as a problem to be solved.

3. Multiple Perspectives: We are studying the degree to which writers see more than one side of the issue; related to this criterion is that of

the writer's position--the extent to which the writer can take a position and be committed to it while recognizing that other points of view also have validity. In other words, here we are looking for an absolutist versus a relativist posture, the hypothesis being that immature writers will be absolutists, mature writers, relativists, and that middle-range writers may have difficulty taking a position, or choosing among competing perspectives (these criteria are related to Perry's stages of dualism, multiplicity, and relativism).[15]

4. The Text's Discourse Patterns: We want to assess the extent to which these patterns reflect dialectical thinking that questions its assumptions in order to arrive at a synthesis of competing perspectives. We are using a coding scheme derived from philosopher Stephen Toulmin's model of argument, a scheme used by Charles Cooper in the Buffalo study mentioned above--[16]although we have modified it to include measurement of dialectical shifts and we are applying it rather differently than did Cooper et.al. Specifically, the scheme identifies three basic components of any argument: some data (D), an assertion, or claim or point or thesis (A), and a warrant (W), or logical or other basis connecting the data to the assertion that is made about it. According to Toulmin, complex discourse also includes elements of qualification (Q), backing or further support of the warrant (B), and exceptions to the warrant (E)--cases or circumstances in which the warrant would not fully apply.[17]

We have augmented the scheme to include a "Question," or "QU," category (QA, QW, QD, etc.) that indicates writers' questionings of their own positions and a "Counterassertion or "C" category (CA, CW, CD, etc.) that reflects their rebuttal of or accommodation to these questions.

We are plotting each shift that a writer makes from one element in the scheme to another. Immature papers average around thirty-five "discourse moves," mature ones around seventy-five. In the higher scoring papers, there are more "Question" and "Counterassertion" moves than in the low-scoring ones, particularly on the paper addressed to a hostile audience.

The study is still in process, but already distinct profiles of writers at seven identifiable levels of writing development are emerging, and in this paper I wish to describe some of their features in at least a preliminary way. Although statistical work is not finished, it is clear that there is a relationship between essay scores and educational level: scores range from a low of 13 to a high of 44, with the mean score being around 26 on the first paper, around 24 on the second. The lowest scoring papers were written by the high school subjects, the highest scoring ones by college juniors and seniors. The middle range is quite dispersed, including every level of student from high school to college senior.

In order to talk about results to date, I have constructed seven composite writers, each of whom represents a cluster of responses typical in the writer's scoring range.

Low-Scoring Writers: Jimmy

What, then, characterizes immature writers in this study--and I should stress that these writers are for the most part "immature" rather than poor; few of them make the large numbers of errors that we associate with remedial-level students, and often their vocabulary is more mature than that of basic writers.

First, these least mature writers show little or no awareness of audience even though they were directed to write to particular readers. In examining their papers and protocols, we find that their sense of audience

simply disappears after they have read the assignment sheet. "Jimmy," a composite writer among the youngest in the study (ages 16-18; primarily high school level), is typical: he perceives the assignment as requiring him simply to disgorge his thoughts about drunk-driving laws, not to formulate an effective argument to a reader. Second, Jimmy is highly moralistic. On his first paper, which is quite short, he writes almost entirely in didactic assertions that are seldom supported either by data or by warrants. For example: "There should be a law for the drivers that have hurt someone because of the use or abuse of alcohol or drugs. The law should state that any drunk driver should be severely punished if driving while under the influence," and so on. Jimmy feels that drunk drivers should be punished, period. This moralism characterizes the least mature writers, whose papers are filled with "should's," with calls for revenge, and with the unquestioned assumption that harsh punishment is an effective deterrent to wrongdoing. Third, Jimmy does not question the drunk-driving law as described on the assignment sheet. He merely sets about arguing for it (almost none of the low-scoring writers argue against the law).

Further, Jimmy struggles to find something--<u>anything</u>--to say on the subject. In his first protocol, he shows no awareness of strategy or purpose and he does no planning. He writes down ideas as they occur to him, and swears, agonizes, and in general suffers when they do not. He has two concerns about the writing itself: (a) that he is misspelling words and (b) that his writing is disorganized. However, he does not restructure anything he writes although he does scratch out several passages because "I don't know what I'm writing" or "this is terrible." He does not question his own viewpoint except to concede that what he proposes "probably won't keep drunk drivers off the roads;" but, he says, "it will help."

Jimmy's first paper consists primarily of edicts which are, most often, unsupported with examples or details. However, an occasional writer in this range introduces a concrete example--usually a drunk-driving incident involving a friend or an acquaintance. These examples are highly specific and are not very clearly related to the points they are intended to develop.

Jimmy's second paper, however, is better than the first. He has, perhaps, thought the question over in the day between the first and second writing sessions. The second paper is longer than the first, and this time Jimmy writes a scratch outline before he begins to compose. In this second paper he makes five more discourse moves than in the first, and he includes some "data": he attempts to support at least one of his edicts with statistics--although having done this, he repeats the point over and over. Whether or not he did so in the first paper, he now buttresses his argument with examples of people injured or killed by drunk drivers. This strategy may have been elicited by the assignment's requirement that he write to a hostile audience--most of the immature writers (not all of them young in years) evidently felt that an emotional appeal would be most effective with unsympathetic readers, and often they laid it on with a trowel.

A teacher wanting to help Jimmy could teach him to give reasons for his assertions, to use more examples to support them, and to make the connection between his assertions and the supporting examples clearer. The predominant characteristic in the papers in Jimmy's range is their moralism--their preoccupation with punishment for wrongdoing. The real challenge in working with the Jimmies would be to attempt to temper their absolutism. However, to do so would perhaps be asking these young writers to negotiate a cognitive move that they are as yet incapable of making. Even those high school students who scored in the moderate to high-moderate

ranges--and about half of them did so--tend towards this moralistic emphasis, whereas few of the college writers in the same range do so and none of them talk about punishment and revenge.

High Lows: Erin

Immature writers who scored slightly higher than did Jimmy--the "Erins," for example (typical age 18-19)--are equally didactic and absolutist in their assertions, but they also string together series of highly dramatic, often harrowing narrative examples of drunk-driving accidents, narratives that are frequently well-written and vivid in detail. But instead of arguing for or against the law, Erin relies upon her examples to carry the paper, concluding simply by saying, in effect, "So you can see that something needs to be done about drunk driving." Erin also performs slightly better on paper "B" than on "A," a tribute, probably, to the effects of thinking about her subject. Unlike Jimmy, she pays attention to her hostile readers. The Erins direct their "B" papers to bartenders and tavern owners, and they moralize and preach to their unsympathetic audience in ways that would surely alienate such readers, in effect telling them that they ought to be ashamed of themselves for getting their patrons drunk. Yet such stances are what we would expect from writers whose cognitive development is still incomplete, for they would have difficulty perceiving the other side of an issue as being anything except alien, wrong, or bad. Nor does Erin conceive of the issue as a problem requiring solution. Rather, she couches it in terms of good/bad, right/wrong. These moralistic emphases in both Jimmy's and Erin's papers suggest Lawrence Kohlberg's Stages Three and Four.[18]

Yet although such arguments would prove ineffective with their intended readers, they are more fully developed than are those in the "A" papers and

thus generally more satisfactory although this development for the most part relies upon highly specific narrative examples--for instance: "A few years ago in Phoenix, Arizona, a man was coming home from a party, fell asleep or should I say passed out at the wheel, and crashed into the side of a house. Inside the house were two little girls sleeping in their bedrooms. Both were killed instantly . . . " Erin goes on to describe in considerable detail the children's funeral, her feelings about the incident, and so on. These specific narratives, characteristic of almost half the papers in this range, suggest writers very much linked to the concrete particulars of immediate experience. However, over half the papers in this range also include generalized examples: "Teenagers go out to a movie, have a good time, then go out and cruise the streets. They then get a-hold of alcohol. Teenagers are more accident prone this way." This kind of generalized example does not appear in the lowest-scoring papers; it suggests an ability to abstract from the particular to the more universal that the lowest-scoring writers apparently have not yet acquired.

Although papers in Erin's range have their share of unsupported edicts and opinions, they also include some causation, giving reasons for drunk driving, for the new laws, and so on, although such causal analysis is often one-dimensional. About a third of the writers in this range establish chains of simple cause and effect to explain these phenomena, and over half of them make direct appeals to their readers although these appeals are often naive. And although the Erins are almost as moralistic as the Jimmies, around a third of them also perceive alcoholism as a problem needing treatment and education.

Both the Jimmies and the Erins lack what Linda Flower calls a "monitor"--[19] a portion of the mind that acts like a stage-manager, assessing what one is doing, deciding what to do next, evaluating what has been done and what is needed, and so on. For the most part, protocols from the lowest-scoring writers reveal little monitoring activity; Jimmy and Erin simply "think" the words that they write down without thinking <u>about</u> them. The exception to this is an almost universal concern with spelling. Beyond that, in their protocols Jimmy and Erin express no awareness of writing as writing, and they possess few strategies for writing except, apparently, to wait for divine inspiration. They largely narrate and pronounce rather than analyze and argue, and their movement back and forth between narrative incident and general assertion is bumpy and not very clear. They move directly from high-level to low-level generalizations, from "topics" to "illustrations," with few middle-level, or "restriction" statements to smooth and clarify these transactions. Further, when they do attempt to support their generalizations, their logic is often questionable; one writer, for example, concludes that "our alcohol reform system" is not working because he knew one person who went through such a program and three years later got drunk again.

Neither Jimmy nor Erin easily anticipate objections to a position and then try to deal with them. Even their "B" papers include only five or six "QU's" and "C's." Nor do they much qualify what they say. Again, I suspect that this posture characterizes a level of development at which right is right and wrong is wrong--and that is that. One does not, after all, argue with the devil--one merely denounces him. However, I should add that Erin produces good narrative and descriptive writing. Although an argumentative topic like the one in this assignment may be too difficult

for her, she could, I suspect, learn to do well on simpler exposition. She needs to relate the examples she uses to the point she wants to make about them, to spend less time narrating and more explaining.

Low Moderates: Dan

At the next level, the low-moderate, we find many of these same characteristics although not in such extremity. "Dan," the composite writer in this range, is very composite indeed, representing about 30% of the study's subjects. Dan's age ranges from 17 to 40, although most of the Dans are under 25, his educational level from high school to college senior, with the majority of Dans being college freshmen and sophomores.

Dan composes longer papers than do Jimmy and Erin, and his discourse patterns are somewhat more complex, including more "Questions" and "Counter-assertions"--perhaps fifteen or so--and more qualifications of his statements. He also draws more heavily upon "authoritative" data than do less mature writers: he cites statistics about accidents involving drunk drivers and facts about the physiological effects of alcohol. He also sometimes differentiates between the law and its enforcement, a differentiation apparently lost to less mature writers. His protocol reveals more monitor activity than do those of Jimmy and Erin although this activity is quite rudimentary. Some Dans do little advance planning before they begin to write, but they do give themselves directions as they compose: "OK, now I should go into a little something about how these guys [the drunk drivers] deserve it [harsh treatment]--that's what we should talk about," or, "I kinda got off the track here, but that's ok; it's another example . . . " Other Dans make simple outlines before they begin writing. Typically, Dan complains a lot about the assignment and about how stupid his writing sounds, but he also sometimes congratulates himself for doing something well.

In other words, he has more sense of himself as a writer than do the Jimmies and Erins although that sense does not include a very complex strategy. As he put it in his interview, "I just kind of let it flow through my head and wrote it the way it was."

On the "A" paper especially, Dan engages in some of the moralism and didacticism of less mature writers, pronouncing numbers of "should's" and "must's" and inveighing against drunk drivers (few of the Dans wrote on the other side of the issue). However, Dan's "B" paper sounds more moderate than does his "A" essay; apparently the exercise of writing to a hostile audience forces him to focus less on his own opinions and more on the rhetorical context than did the "A" assignment, which he took as an invitation simply to articulate his own ideas. In writing to the hostile audience, Dan shows more ability to relate to his readers' positions than did Jimmy and Erin--he sometimes speaks of "we" rather than "you," thus identifying himself with his readers although this identification does not extend to empathy, and he occasionally appeals to his readers' self-interest instead of simply trying to shame them into submission. Dan also gives reasons for his assertions, establishing chains of cause and effect and sometimes acknowledging the complexity of causation in the areas he examines. However, Dan does better at establishing causation than at tracing effects or consequences, particularly hypothetical consequences. In general, our writers seem to master causation--in Marie Secor's terms, "What caused this to happen"--[19] before they can see that "this happened, so that resulted" or can speculate about "what <u>might</u> happen if this is done." Probably tracing consequences requires more abstract reasoning ability than does identifying causes. Like Erin, Dan uses a fair proportion of general examples and occasionally sees the drunk driver as needing treatment and education rather than punishment. Some of the time he includes

mid le-level statements as he moves from general to particular, and some of the time he argues from analogy.

Several patterns emerge in Dan's "B" essay: he appeals to the opposition primarily on emotional grounds not too far removed from the preachiness of Jimmy and Erin except that he tries to mobilize tavern owners guilt and anxiety as parents, spouses, or citizens, saying in effect, "How would you feel if your wife or child was hit and injured or killed by someone who had been drinking in your bar?" Or, "How would you feel if you read in the paper that one of your customers had hit and killed someone on the way home from your tavern?" Often Dan anticipates possible opposition to his positions but does not really engage it, brushing it aside with remarks such as, "What are profits compared to even one human life?"--no doubt a sound position ethically but not one, perhaps, that profit-seeking tavern owners would accept without some persuasive argument. By and large, writers who rely heavily upon emotional appeal score lower on the "B" papers than on the "A" essays, and they report finding the "B" paper more difficult to write--an indication, perhaps that they either did not genuinely perceive the differing rhetorical situation presented by the second paper or, more likely, that they found adopting a perspective very different from their own (in order to argue persuasively against it) very difficult; by contrast, students in higher-scoring ranges report finding the second paper easier to write than the first since it challenged them really to argue and support their viewpoints.

In working with Dan, an instructor would want to concentrate upon causation--especially upon multiple causes and effects--in order to temper Dan's simplistic and absolutist views of cause/effect; he is probably ready for such work. He also needs help with moving up and down the

discourse hierarchy and especially with constructing middle-level statements and examples. Exercises in audience-analysis and role-playing of his audience would probably help him relate more effectively to his readers. Above all, he needs work in anticipating and genuinely responding to his readers' questions and objections, perhaps by adopting some of the problem-solving heuristics so frequently used by writers in the next range:

Moderate Scores

Sandra's 11 is the composite writer in the moderate range (about 60% of the subject population, ages 17-55 and grade 9 high school through college senior, with the majority of these writers [56.5%] being college freshmen and sophomores). Like Jimmy, Erin, and Dan, Sandra uses vivid examples although these examples are apt to be generalized or hypothetical--for example, "Imagine that you are driving late at night and you see a car in front of you, weaving all over the highway . . . " or, "Our children are the most vulnerable to the drunk driver. A child might be walking down the sidewalk and suddenly a car driven by a person under the influence of alcohol bounds out of control and hits this child right in front of his mother and father." Sandra defines her points and gives reasons for them; and often has elaborate structure which provide considerable support and elaboration in the form of warrants and backing. Sandra also does some qualifying that avoids less mature writers' use of absolutes and sometimes recognizes opposing points of view. She also sees that legislating laws is not the same

as enforcing them and that no law will work unless it is strictly enforced.

Sandra's paper is more apt to be conceptually organized than are the papers of Terry, Erin, and even Dani for the most part, she appears to make her points and then find paragraphs to support them rather than organizing the paper around either particulars or unsupported and sweeping generalizations. However, this conceptual organization is sometimes shaky; movement from one point to the next occasionally seems arbitrary, a matter of association rather than logical progression.

In her 4th paper she reveals more sensitivity to her audience's vulnerabilities than do lower-scoring writers: she appeals to her audience's self-interest, urging tavern owners to publically separate themselves from problem drinkers by supporting the proposed law and thus to improve their public image. She reassures her readers that no one wants to curb the liquor industry; her protocol shows that she is aware of the need to absolve the beverage industry for responsibility for drunk driving accidents if she is to enlist their support. She also concedes that the new laws will pose problems for the industry, but emphasizes tavern owners' need to put community responsibility ahead of profits. At this point, her argument sometimes takes on a moralistic cast; but she rather deftly resolves the dilemma by suggesting that an improved public image will help liquor profits high. This ability to anticipate a hostile reader's objections and to respond to them both reasonably and effectively indicates a degree of empathy--and hence cognitive maturity--considerably beyond that of less-practiced writers. Sandra has her weaknesses as well. Her [illegible] sometimes [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Writers in Sandra's scoring range often argue by analogy, something few lower-scoring writers do, and they often place the issue of drunk driving in broad social and historical perspective--another index of sophisticated cognitive maturity. These writers engage in substantial amounts of hypothetical argument; "if/then" constructions are extremely common in this range; and along with this is an increased tendency to trace out the consequences of the actions discussed. In general, readers notice more and more subtle discriminations in discussing the topic than do lower-scoring writers. She could benefit from heuristics requiring her to go even further in exploring her subject's complexity and context. Rogerian rhetoric would also help her, as would writing about her topic from several perspectives and then synthesizing these perspectives into one dialectical argument. She would also find it helpful to work with the framework of a full proposal structure like that outlined in A Rhetoric of Argument.[20]

High Moderate: Robert

"Robert," the composite writer in the highest middle range, uses fairly complex discourse structures. Robert's first paper (argument of fact or policy) and "Kids" and "Cats" (a personal essay) are about equally sophisticated. That is, they display much of the structure of discourse but not necessarily the substance, or else they use the structure inappropriately or incompletely. Readers suggesting their own strategies sometimes advise how ideas have progressed. For instance, in the following discourse chain, Robert's first is considered a question that shows sophisticated rhetorical awareness, and the second is considered a question that shows sophisticated thinking about the topic:

at we cannot give mandatory jail sentences
ecause it would overcrowd our already crowded
d would be economically costly. Also insurance
ease b cause of the fact that drunk drivers
d deaths. Ultimately, it is the average
d I [sic] who will pay for their mistakes.

s sound: the cost of unchecked drunk driving is
d be the cost of putting drunk drivers in jail.
of his premises, and the passage ends up sounding
he has more or less gone through the correct
basic point is sound.

ch difficulty characterizes a transitional stage
re writing in which substance and structure will
logical connections will be clear. The Perry study
ice with structure preceded acquisition of the sub-
.[21] Unlike his lower-scoring peers, Robert at
r some oppositional positions and to deal with them
emotionally or didactically. Although he often fails,
eeds, and I would guess that these successes will
me if he continues to practice writing.

to develop, both Sandra and Robert need to question
e than they do, for they seldom confront genuine
t both Sandra and Robert deal with this difficulty
in and Dan: instead of detouring into emotional
ng objections, they try to minimize them and in the
m-solving stance that may prepare the way for more
ater on.

That is, Sandra and Robert suggest schemes to help bartenders and tavern owners keep profits up despite tough drunk driving laws--for instance, by installing breathalyzers, by contributing to transportation services to ferry drunk patrons home, by mounting campaigns to encourage patrons to bring a non-drinking friend along to drive, and so on. All of us who rated the papers were surprised at how many writers in the upper medium to high medium ranges perceived Topic "B" as calling upon them to offer these helpful suggestions rather than directly address the issues raised by the laws themselves. The ubiquity of this response in this particular range suggests that it is significant and merits close attention. For the present, I can only speculate about its meaning.

Many writers who adopt this ploy do not fully engage possible objections to their own schemes--for instance, cost and feasibility; more telling, they do not concede the extent to which the proposed laws would affect the liquor industry or, in the case of the few writers on the other side of this issue, the extent to which the present laws are not working and the unreality of expecting bartenders to be responsible for keeping drunks off the highway--the favorite solution to the problem offered by most writers opposing the new laws. Yet all these moderate and high-moderate writers are obviously aware of the problems involved for those on the opposite side of the issue; however, instead of addressing them, they propose gimmicks--some of them, to be sure, helpful and ingenious. In effect, they say, "You won't <u>really</u> have a problem because you can do <u>X</u>"; they then direct all their energy into delineating <u>X</u>, and in the process dodge the thornier issues involved in the proposed law. They seem (unconsciously, I am sure) to be diverting their readers with sugary solutions that will disguise the bitter taste of, on the one hand, tougher laws or,

on the other, unchecked drunk driving. Many of these "B" papers are better than the "A" essays their writers produced, perhaps because generating these suggestions engaged the writers in creative thought about the topic. And they reported finding the "B" paper easier to write because they really had to justify themselves to their hostile readers.

I suspect that this problem-solving strategy is evidence of a stage of development in which writers, having moved beyond the facile right/wrong orientations of less mature levels, know that there are oppositional positions to their own but are not yet secure enough in their own thinking to engage these issues directly conceding some validity to them but still arguing for their own viewpoints. That is, even though they know that there are many sides to any issue, they are looking for all-or-nothing solutions to problems that will resolve the ambiguities of actual experience. Perry suggests that mature thinkers can see the complexity and relativism of experience, yet still make commitments to positions on important issues. They have sorted and weighed the data and arguments and recognized that no posture is "pure," perfect, or final--but that one must, even so, take positions and make commitments in order to function.[22] Sandra and Robert have not yet reached this level.

Their protocols show them to be far more aware of writing strategy than are Jimmy, Erin, and Dan--not always in beneficial ways. That is, often they plan their papers carefully, even minutely, before beginning to write, and numbers of them call up directives that they have learned in their composition classes to guide themselves (outlining, constructing a thesis, starting each paragraph with a topic sentence, observing paragraph unity, giving both sides of an issue). At times, one senses that, as with

the basic writers whom Sondra Perl studied,[23] their prescriptions interfere with their concentration on what they are saying and the rhetorical situation in which they are saying it, that without this concern with formulas for producing papers, they might indeed have written better essays. On the other hand, the Sandras and Roberts do score in the moderate and high-moderate ranges, and their preoccupation with the constraints of writing may be a necessary stage that they must go through on their way to mastering the writing process. Their papers are certainly better than those of the writers who simply "let it flow through their heads"--although the best writers in our study for whom we have protocols give most of their attention to the substance of what they are saying and the audience to which they are directing their remarks rather than to the mechanics of writing itself. They are aware of organization and grammar as they write, but this awareness is peripheral rather than central--and they do make scratch outlines, jot down notes, and plan strategy before they start writing.

Seemingly, the higher writers' scores in the moderate range, the more they appeal to their readers' logic and self interest, arguing with tavern owners, for example, that they will improve their public images if they support tough drunk driving laws and that ultimately this improved image will bring economic benefits. These writers rely little on moralistic or emotional appeals although they do treat their readers as ethical people. They also rely little, proportionally, on narrative examples and far more on chains of argument and statements of consequence to make their cases. In framing their appeals, they think primarily about which arguments will be telling with their readers, not just about the ones they themselves adhere to. In other words, they are very much aware of the rhetorical

situation in which they are writing. Like Sandra, Robert would benefit from exercise requiring him to think dialectically; he also seems ready for sophisticated work on logic.

High Moderate Variation: Donna

A small percentage of writers, like Donna, who scores at the top of the high moderate range, appear to be so aware of the arguments on every side of every issue that they have difficulty making a clear case for one position. Donna's analysis of the problem is more complex than that of most writers in this study, who simply opt for one or the other sides of the issue. Donna knows that there are strong arguments on both sides. That is, she does not consider oppositional arguments simply to rebutt them, as do many less mature writers--she can genuinely see the claims on each side, and this awareness makes it difficult for her to commit herself to any position.

Donna knows that she must establish an ethos, a persona, and she does so at some length. She also deals with the motives of those on both sides of the issue, something none of the less mature writers attempt. Like Sandra and Robert, she differentiates between laws and their enforcement but does so with more detail and complexity than do lower-scoring writers, in the process producing an extensive feasability section, lacking in lesser-scoring writers. She too engages in a problem-solving approach, but she does not duck the difficulty of the issues she is confronting.

In her protocol, she shows herself very aware of strategies for approaching her audience and tries constantly to find points of reconciliation between her own feelings and those of her audience. Donna realizes that any solution to a human problem is partial and flawed. However, in the

process of realizing this, she is so aware of these problems that she cannot take a very decisive position and hence writes an extremely reasonable-sounding but not necessarily effective or persuasive paper. She qualifies herself almost to the point of equivocation.

High: Chris

By contrast, the survey's best or most mature writers, those like "Chris," see the problem's complexities as clearly as does Donna but nevertheless articulate a clear position and support it persuasively but also reasonably. All subjects in this range are college students, primarily juniors and seniors. Chris mounts effective arguments that are a mixture of his convictions and the exigencies of the rhetorical situation. That is, Chris is aware of inconsistencies on all sides of this issue and of the social costs involved in each position on it. He is aware of distinctions between public and private behavior and of the legal difficulties inherent in the proposed law. He sympathizes with both the victims of drunk drivers and the drivers themselves, whom he sees as being sick rather than bad. Yet he also realizes that society must protect itself and that therefore some action must be taken with respect to drunk driving--although the study's Chris's differ considerably about what that action should be.

Once they have made a decision, however, they set about supporting it persuasively and effectively. For example, one Chris was distressed by the high incidence of drunk driving but also troubled by provisions in the proposed law as reported on the assignment sheet, provisions which, he believed, would make it unconstitutional.[24] For that reason, he could not support the law even though he agreed with many of its other stipulations.

He constructed an argument against it that is a gem of both logic and machiavellian manipulation. That is, given his fundamental premise,

he shapes his argument almost entirely on the basis of the rhetorical situation. The protocol shows him consciously avoiding certain tactics that might mobilize reader emotions on the other side even as he makes concessions to his readers in order to establish himself as a reasonable spokesperson. He fully admits the extent of the drunk driving problems and the state's right and even duty to do something about them, but he deliberately refrains from citing statistics about drunk driving accidents and deaths because such figures might incline his readers towards stricter laws. In thinking about his strategy on paper "A," he regrets having to write "a totally one-sided argument such as this one when I feel both ways about it . . . but the hard line is that I have a group that oppose it [the proposed law] so it's kind of a paper that shoots between the middle."

In his argument to his hostile audience, the Colorado Highway Patrol, Chris appeals to law officers' difficulties with constitutional safeguards of a suspect's rights, arguing that the proposed law would compound these problems, that "the law in its present form is 'shot full of holes,' and through these loopholes the offender will slide, with his constitution in hand, on his way from the jail to the street and further mayhem."

In his protocol, he self-consciously works to get the Colorado Highway Patrol on his side by "appearing that I agree with them 100% . . . and then I strike." And so he does, presenting a highly logical analysis and indictment of the proposed law while at the same time appealing to the Highway Patrol's desire not to lose convictions through charges that they have denied due process.

Chris' discourse moves are extensive--74 on paper "A," 72 on paper "B"--but they include less qualification of statement than does Donna's discourse, a fact reflecting, I think, Chris' clarity about his purpose

and position. Yet the authority with which he states his case is far removed from the didacticism of Jimmy, Erin, and even Dan, for it rests upon a rational argument that can concede its weak points and yet argue vigorously for its strong ones, and upon strategy that communicates and calculatedly appeals to readers rather than articulating the unsupported and unexamined moralistic opinions of the writer himself.

I would guess that the Chris's can argue with both reason and authority because they have realistically considered all facets of the subject about which they write regardless of whether some of those aspects will challenge their own position. This ability genuinely to consider all sides of an issue--and I stress genuinely to consider, as opposed to simply going through the motions--is an index of mature cognitive functioning, and it is an ability that, I have found, less mature students have great difficulty with. In the classroom they will protest that if they consider the other side, they will weaken their own arguments although I suspect that they really are afraid (unconsciously, to be sure) that they will learn something that will cause them to change their minds. I regularly assign exercises that require students to write from the perspective of someone who disagrees with them, but I find that it is a real struggle for them to do so. More mature writers, on the other hand, have arrived at conclusions which they can endorse precisely because they know what their positions' weaknesses are and don't try to pretend that those weaknesses are strengths. They simply concede them and go on to make a strong case for what can be argued. Further, they hold their conclusions provisionally, not absolutely. Such dialectical reasoning to working conclusions is the kind of thinking that, ideally, a college education encourages, and I am persuaded that analytic

writing is one of the best methods of producing it--but that is a subject for another paper.

This brief and superficial survey of writers in our study suggests that the path from immature to mature discourse is lengthy and sometimes circuitous. Nevertheless, what seems to emerge from this preliminary analysis is a continuum from least to most mature that includes several kinds of transitions:

1) transition from no awareness of self as writer and strategist, to some awareness, to over-awareness, to high awareness;

2) transition from little or no awareness of reader, to some, to much, to awareness of reader almost equal to that of subject matter; this transition in sense of reader may also include movement from having little difficulty with either a friendly or hostile reader, since one is unaware of either, to a stage in which writers can relate more effectively to friendly than to hostile readers, to one in which writing to friendly readers is much like writing to themselves while hostile readers challenge them to their best work.

3) transition in basis of argument most emphasized, from moralistic, to emotional, to logical and pragmatic;

4) transition in type of argument most emphasized from edict, to narrative example, to explanation, to problem-solving, to argumentation;

5) transition from writer's sense of own position from absolutist, to tentative, to firm but reasonable;

6) transitions in attention to planning from little or no attention, to some, to an excessive amount in some of the moderate writers, to an efficient amount in the best writers;

7) transition in complexity of thinking from little or no perception of the issue's complexity, to some, to much and even overmuch, and back to much; transition from no questioning of one's own viewpoint, to some, to much or overmuch, and back to much.

I will be examining other indices of writing maturity, but to date these emerge as the most significant. Over the next months, my research assistants and I will study this data more closely and will be able then to draw more definitive conclusions from it and to derive from those conclusions their implications for the teaching of writing.

Notes

[1] Mina Shaughnessy, "Some Needed Research on Writing," College Composition and Communication, 28 (Dec., 1977), p. 318.

[2] Walter Loban, Language Development: Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve (Urbana, IL: NCTE, 1976); James Britton, Tony Burgess, Nancy Martin, Alex McLeod, and Harold Rosen, The Development of Writing Abilities (11-18) (Houndmills Basingstoke Hampshire and London: Macmillan Education, 1975); Donald H. Graves, "Children's Writing: Research Direction and Hypotheses Based upon an Examination of the Writing Process of Seven-year Old Children," unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1973; Donald H. Graves, "Research Doesn't Have to be Boring," Language Arts, 56, 1 (Jan. 1979), pp. 76-80; Robert H. Bracewell, Marlene Scardamalia, and Carl Bereiter, "The Development of Audience Awareness in Writing," paper presented at the American Education Research Association, Toronto, March 1978 (ERIC Document No. ED 154 33); Donald H. Graves, Balance the Basics: Let Them Write, (New York: Ford Foundation, 1978); Marlene Scardamalia, Carl Bereiter, and J.D.S. McDonald, "Role-taking in Written Communication Investigated by Manipulating Anticipatory Knowledge," paper presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, New Orleans, March 1977 (ERIC Document No. ED 151 792); Carl Bereiter, "Development in Writing," in Lee W. Gregg and Erwin R. Steinberg, ed., Cognitive Processes in Writing, (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1980), pp. 79-83.

[3] Kellogg Hunt, Grammatical Structures Written at Three Grade Levels (Urbana, IL: NCTE, 1965), p. 61; Jerome Bruner, "Readiness for Learning," in Jeremy M. Anglin, ed., Beyond the Information Given: Studies in the Psychology of Knowing (New York: Norton, 1973), pp. 413-425; Jerome Bruner, "Language as an Instrument of Thought," in Alan Davies, ed., Problems of Language and Learning (London: Heinemann, 1975), pp. 75-80; Lev Vygotsky, Thought and Language, ed. and trans. Eugenia Haufmann and Gertrude Vakar (New York: John Wiley, 1962), p. 79; Britton, et.al., pp. 158-73, passim pp. 182, 192, 201-2.

[4] Charles Cooper, Roger Cherry, Rita Gerber, Stefan Fleischer, and Barbara Copley, "Writing Abilities of Regularly-Admitted Freshmen at SUNY/Buffalo," unpublished study, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1980, p. 83.

[5] Susan Miller, "Rhetorical Maturity: Definition and Development," in Aviva Freedman and Ian Pringle, eds., Reinventing the Rhetorical Tradition (Conway, AR: L&S Books, 1980), p. 121.

[6] Miller, pp. 123-124.

[7] Janice Hays, "The Development of Discursive Maturity," in Janice Hays, Phyllis Roth, Jon Ramsey, and Robert Foulke, eds., The Writer's Mind: Writing as a Mode of Thinking (Urbana, IL: NCTE, in press).

[8] William Perry, Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development in the College Years, A Scheme (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968), pp. 206-207 and passim.

[9] Bruner, "Language as an Instrument . . . ," pp. 79-80.

[10] James Moffett, Teaching the Universe of Discourse (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1968), pp. 19-23 and passim; Britton, et.al., pp. 94-98 and passim.

[11] "The Work of Words: The Order of Language," paper presented at Modern Language Association convention, panel on Cultural Literacy, Language, and Literature, Los Angeles, December, 1982.

[12] See Janet Emig, The Composing Processes of Twelfth-Graders (Urbana, Ill: NCTE, 1971); Sondra Perl, "The Composing Processes of Unskilled College Writers," Research in the Teaching of English, 13 (Dec., 1979), pp. 317-336; John R. Hayes and Linda Flower, "Identifying the Organization of Writing Processes," in Cognitive Processes in Writing, pp. 3-30.

[13] Marilyn Sternglass, "Applications of the Wilkinson Model of Writing Maturity to College Writing," College Composition and Communications, 33 (May, 1982), pp. 168-170; Andrew Wilkinson, Gillian Barnsley, Peter Hanna, and Margaret Swan, "Assessing Language Development: The Crediton Project," Language for Learning, 1 (June, 1979), p. 64; John Flavell, Cognitive Development (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1977), pp. 128-131.

[14] Flavell, pp. 174-179.

[15] Perry, pp. 57-176, passim.

[16] Cooper, et.al., pp. 54-60.

[17] See Stephen Toulmin, The Uses of Argument (Cambridge, Eng: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1958).

[18] Flavell, pp. 141-143.

[19] Marie Secor, "Modes of Thinking, Modes of Argument," in The Writer's Mind.

[20] Jeanne Fahnestock and Marie Secor, A Rhetoric of Argument (New York: Random House, 1982), pp. 246-270.

[21] Perry, pp. 95-102 and passim.

[22] Perry, pp. 153-176 passim.

[23] Perl, p. 333 and passim

[24] Chris was absolutely right in his analysis of this flaw in the proposed law; however, the problem came not from the law itself but from my having summarized it incorrectly on the assignment sheet. The interesting thing is that Chris was the only person out of the study's 135 subjects to "see" this problem.

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Topic A

Tougher Drunk Driving Laws?

Background

As you may know, the Colorado Legislature is considering laws which would make the penalties for drunk driving more severe than they now are. This law would require that anyone found guilty of driving under the influence of alcohol be jailed for 24 hours, pay a stiff fine, and have his/her driver's license suspended for 30 days; whether or not the driver was "under the influence of alcohol" would be determined by machine tests of blood-alcohol levels. Second-time offenders would be sentenced to a month in jail, would pay an even stiffer fine, and have their licenses revoked for six months; in addition, they would have to attend an alcohol education program for a year. Any person driving while under the influence of alcohol and involved in an accident resulting in a fatality would automatically be charged with manslaughter.

Essay Assignment

Most of us have had some experience with drunken drivers, whether we know someone who drinks and drives or know someone who has been in an accident involving a drunk driver. Write a well-organized essay of about 1000 words in which you take a stand on the issue of tough drunk-driving laws. Assume that you are writing for readers that pretty much feel the way you do about drunk-driving laws (see below); in order to be effective and persuasive with even a sympathetic audience, of course, your argument should be well-organized, logical, and supported by examples and illustrations.

Readers

If, on the whole, you favor tougher drunk-driving laws, write your essay for the newsletter or magazine of one of the following groups:

Mothers Against Drunk Drivers
Alcoholics Anonymous
Colorado Highway Patrol
Colorado Springs Alcohol and Drug Abuse Workers
Colorado Springs Council of Churches

If, on the whole, you oppose tougher drunk-driving laws, write your essay for the newsletter or magazine of one of the following groups:

Colorado Beverage Industry
Colorado Springs Bar and Tavern Owners Association
Colorado Teamsters Union
John Birch Society, Colorado Springs Chapter
TRIM (Trim Taxes Immediately), Colorado Springs Chapter
Members of Playboy Clubs, Western Area

Underline the readers that you will write your essay for, and write the name of your readers here:

_____

Write your own name here: _____

Hand this sheet in with your essay.

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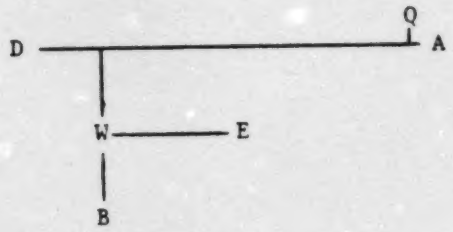
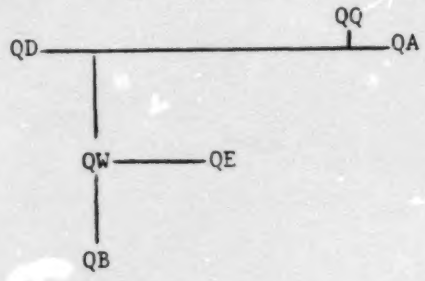
DISCOURSE CODING SCHEME

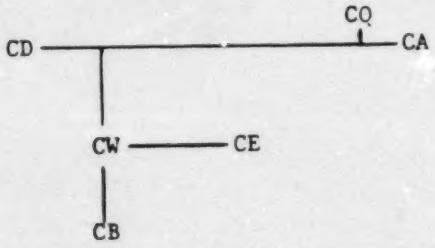
1. ASSERTION OR CLAIM (THESIS)



2. QUESTIONING OF ASSERTION (ANTITHESIS)



3. CONCESSIONARY OR COUNTER ASSERTION OR SYNTHETIC ASSERTION (SYNTHESIS)



A = Assertion, claim, thesis, proposition, statement point

D = Data, concrete evidence for A, facts and figures, examples, illustrations, before point is made about them

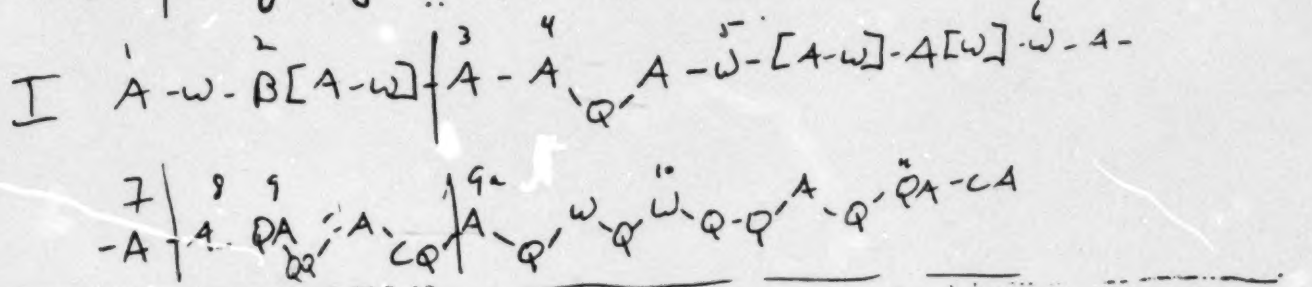
W = Warrant, reasons, logical link between D and A

B = Backing or support for warrant, elaboration of warrant, examples supporting warrant

Q = Qualification of terms or premises

Low

person because he or she was driving under the influence should be penalized for vehicular assault if the recipient only received minor injuries and if the person is killed then the driver should be penalized for murder. Any drunk driver found guilty of driving while under the influence should be made to pay a fine and do a special service for the community. ~~Read soon there going to be laws passed that will not~~



influence...or no... under the influence...should be penalized...for vehicular assault...what's the person... if the recipient...if the recipient...if the recipient ...the word.. what is that word?...if the recipient only received minor injuries....and if the person is killed then the driver should be ....should be....should be....should be....should be...should be...should be penalized should be penalized then the driver should be penalized for murder..murder..murderer...murder...I keep forgetting...penalized for murder...murder....hum....what else...should they get...let's see...they should also... drivers should also...drivers should also...should also do something for the community... dummies...ok...drivers whould ....drivers should do some kind of service for the community....spend it...for a week...a month...a month doing certain activities for the community....doing...what...like helping the community out....

.....what am I trying to say? what am I trying to say? let's see...the driver..let's see..the driver should..ree...god..what am I trying to say...

....including detention....and....higher fines....uhm....jail sentences....and....
license revocation....now...that um....we'll have to go around with....can't leave out
the Alcohol Education program either...for one year?....it's the second-offender...he
would have to go to jail....for a month...pay a fine....have his license revoked for
six months and attend an Alcohol Education program for one year....(!)....how would he
get to the program if he had his license revoked?....I guess he would have to uh...walk...
that's a little bit obsessive....they just seem to be obsessed with piling penalty upon
penalty....um....attend an alcohol...high fines...go to jail...um....this...license
revocation...uhm.... social scorn....high fines...ok...write that um....
second-offenders...offender....would have to attend an Alcohol Education program....
an Alcohol Education program for one year../.ok./.now that we stated the law....let's
uh...go up to the uhm...uhm....well shall we put...um...we'll start the object...the
object of this essay right after the law and see how it sounds....let's see....we will
say that the object of this essay is to uhmm....is to analyze the....proposed...is to...
anaylze the proposed...legislation...analyze the proposed legislation...for what? un..
internal consistency.... ....and...accuracy of general concepts of law....ok....
the object.... facts...uhm...let's see..let's go with uhm....we'll see...
first of all....I kind of convoluted...the law...the order of some of these things as
I've gone along here....uhm....the object of this essay is to analyze the proposed
legislation for internal consistency and accuracy of general concepts of law....well...
uh....gonna do that...that's the object and there is no need to go over the facts...
the of drunk driving statistics...because that would only that would only
bring in some...it would be statistically accurate ...but it would be bringing in some
....introduced in such as a way to make it seem....unsymapthetic to one side....seems
better just to write a paper concerning uh....a totally one-sided argument such as this
one...when I feel both ways about it....uhm....hard line...the hard line is that I
have a group that oppose it.....obviously...so it's kind of a paper that shoots between
the middle...uhm....ok...so what's going on with that?.....internal consistency...and
accuracy of general concepts of law....in other words...uhm....the law....the legisla-
tion is basically internally consistent....the progression of negative sanctions ....
the progression of negative sanctions is logical...this is just turning out to be a